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October 13 "00

WHY-- The Strikers will WIN.

WHEN- They Vote as they Strike.

WHERE- At the Ballot Box.

Never before have the capitalist political parties shown themselves so united in aim and ambition as at the present time in Pennsylvania politics. The organized political henchmen ward-heelers and grafters in general, whether styling themselves Republicans, Democrats, Citizens, or Union party, are simply rivals for the spoil the capitalist masters give them in political appointments, campaign funds, or railroad passes.

The Capitalists in Politics.

The capitalist class, which has possession of all the means of production an distribution, consists of but 6 per cent. of the voting population of the United States, whereas the working-class, the producers of all wealth, constitute not less than 75 per cent. of the voting population. The capitalist-class, alert and class-conscious, is well aware of the numerical weakness at the ballot box. It realizes that, as a class, it is doomed just so soon as the working-class organize politically and awake to the fact that they are receiving, in the form of wages, a constantly decreasing part of the product of their toil, while the portion of labor's product which the capitalist-class confiscates in the form of "profits" steadily grows larger and larger. The capitalists clearly realize that each day's product of labor is divided between two rival interests—the employer and the employee, commonly known as the interests of Labor and Capital. Between these two interests there is a constant class-struggle as to who shall receive the largest share of the product created by labor alone.

The large capitalist, through the control as his private property of the most improved labor-saving (or, better expressed, labor-displacing) machinery, is thereby enabled to undersell his competitors, increases the number of workingmen having nothing but their labor-power to sell, compels the working-class to sell this labor-power in competition with the steadily increasing number of unemployed, displaced by machinery, crushes out the smaller employer, concentrates industries and controls our government.

With all their success in manipulating the working-class, the capitalist-class fear the working-class whom they rob in the factory, the mill, and the mine. The capitalists clearly realize that when the working-class organize on the political field, and through their great numbers carry the entire state, placing workingmen in office who are conscious of their class-interest, then the highest to the lowest office in the land will be the fortresses to fight the capitalist-class. All great public questions naturally become political issues, and the time is fast approaching when the working-class will vote themselves behind the guns when they strike, and not be slaughtered as cattle because they refuse to be robbed of more wealth, the product of their toil.

It is the policy of the capitalists to keep the working-class divided politically, in order to maintain the control of the political power in the interest of the capitalist-class, the power of government. To accomplish this they must utilize some of the unemployed they have made, who are willing to seek the good will of the capitalist-class, even to the point of using their friends to secure political recognition, and become full-fledged "grafters," parasites on society, as are now the capitalists of this land.

Considering the wonderful growth of Trusts, with the decrease in opportunities for high positions, it is a wonder there are not more antagonistic political factions supporting the capitalists, who rob the worker and shoot him when he strikes. Review what care the political parties of the several counties and see how well the highest to the lowest offices in the State have been agencies for the dominant capitalists, and how the several factions have sought the support of capitalists, in and out of office.

As a shining example of the Republican party in general, consider the so-called ring, or machine organizations of Pittsburg, Philadelphia, and every manufacturing town in the State, each struggling to be the favored child of the capitalist-class. Each candidate who was selected was one who considered the workers without rights and an appendage of capitalists. Thugs and plug-uglies have been and are protected to serve as "detectives," Coal & Iron Police, deputy sheriffs; disguised as workingmen to create trouble in order to furnish excuse for calling out of state troops to break strikes. These pretexts come in handy to break up rival political factions, and, not least, their criminality makes it possible for larger appropriations to be drawn from capitalists in the form of high taxes to maintain a larger police force, etc., as non-producers, to keep the working-class from knowing they have produced the wealth upon which an idle, parasitical capitalist-class revel in luxury.

Matt. S. Quay has been the acknowledged leader in Pennsylvania politics during all the labor strikes of the past quarter-century. He, as well as his lieutenants, belong to the railroad presidents of the State; they belong to them and to the capitalists affiliated with them. They can be put out of office as easily as they were put in—more easily, in fact, than they put Quay in the last time. Quay would not dream of passing a law in Harrisburg without the consent of his capitalist masters. If anybody should attempt to pass such a law, Quay and Penrose, as well as Stone, Elkins, and Recorder Brown, or even [illegible] Bigelows and their fusion confusionists, would compass its defeat in some way. The Republican party in Philadelphia and Pittsburg, and in the State at large, is the subservient tool and instrument of a corrupt ring of which Quay and Penrose are the figureheads, but not the motive power. The real parties in interest are the corporations that furnish the money by which the springs of government are polluted, and the State made a hissing and by-word to men. Small wonder it is that the railroad presidents snap their fingers when these two Senators talk about the Republican party and the power of the State in connection with the coal strike.

Labor Legislation by Capitalist Parties.

The political boss is successful just so long as he uses good judgment in selecting candidates who can be relied upon to pass laws in the interest of the capitalist-class and judges will render decisions declaring nul and void any "labor legislation" that at times may be passed, to give his paid "labor lieutenants" an excuse to go before the workers again and secure the worker's vote for the support of the capitalist employers' interests. So well has Quay represented capitalism that the capitalists have rallied to his support because his organization well understood the methods necessary to make the capitalist-class the dominant power of the State. In small factional fights some capitalists may be on either side, but the dominant capitalists stand back and watch the oncoming battle for spoils. They know the victor will be their subservient tool, and with him they will deal.

At times the majority of voters have rebelled at such methods and on several occasions elected Democratic candidates who claimed to oppose some of the Republican party methods, but in their endeavor to secure and maintain the support of the employers they readily used the judges, sheriffs, and the militia, to crush the workers and break every uprising for better conditions. In the face of these facts they assume the workers have forgotten the action of R. E. Pattison, the Democratic Governor during the Homestead strike, and have again endorsed his actions and brought him before the voters in the face of the fatherless children and widowed mothers who still remember the loved ones who were slaughtered because they refused to give up more of the wealth which labor alone produced to the capitalist-class who are the masters because they claim as their private property the tools which labor creates and must use again to create more wealth, of which it receives a pittance as wages, the capitalist-class keeping the balance buys more and greater tools, to enslave more people and build larger castles and keep fast horses and faster women.

The Remedy.

The past experience of the working-class in Pennsylvania has proven that to them it matters not whether a Democrat or Republican sits in the Governor's chair. With either party in power, the workingman can only get employment at all by the consent of the capitalist tool-owning class, and upon such terms and conditions as lay within the power of the capitalist-class to dictate. We of the working-class must work, having no other means whereby we can obtain a living. We therefore find ourselves compelled to labor upon the land of the capitalist-class, with tools owned by the capitalist-class, upon raw materials owned by the capitalist-class, and the finished product, the fruits of our toil is the property of the capitalist-class. Laboring under such conditions is nothing else than slavery, a condition that cannot be arbitrated, and why cry Peace! Peace! when there is no peace? Believing such conditions are unbearable, and that the cause lies deeper than the surface, we challenge any man to dispute the correctness of FACTS and conclusions set forth in this analysis of present society and its inevitable development to socialism, we workingmen of Pennsylvania have the intelligence to master the Labor problem, and it is to this we call on all workers conscious of their class interests to organize in a political party of, for, and by the working-class. Throw down at once and for all time the political agents of your capitalist masters; realize your power lies in the ballot; use it for the conquest of the powers of government, and make this in fact a government of, for, and by the people.

Remember the capitalist-class lays claim to all you have produced, will produce and can produce. Like King George of old, they claim this country is theirs by divine right and the people are their subjects. Our fathers accomplished political freedom, let us conquer economic freedom. Follow the example of our Revolutionary fathers in 1776, and deny the right to take that which they have not produced. Read this as a Declaration of Independence, and vote as you strike, for your class, the mission of the Socialist Labor Party. Surveying the economic field, we find the capitalist-class owning and controlling the land and all its natural resources, the capitalist class owning and controlling the railroads, telegraphs and all the means of communication and transportation. The capitalist-class own and control the earth and all there is in it and on it. We have absolute class rule, they are monarchs of all they survey. We find the working-class upon the economic field merely a commodity, and like all other commodities subject to the laws of competition—supply and demand. We have to sell our commdity (labor-power) in the open market. That market being constantly overstocked, the pressure of competition is constantly forcing the working-class into a lower and more precarious condition, with no prospect of improvement in sight. These conditions result in slavery; wage-slavery truly enough, but none the less slavery. Workingmen, workingwomen and children are classed as human beings, having rights, but are precisely on a par with mules, hogs, pig iron or cabbages, to be bought and sold for what they will bring. Man being a tool-using animal, having to employ his energy in order to support himself and those dependent upon him, find by reason of the fact, that the capitalist-class owns the land and tools of production, that this gives them absolute control of every avenue to employment, therefore, he cannot work at all except by consent of the capitalist tool-owning-class, and they also dictate all other terms and conditions. All these facts and conditions describe slavery and nothing short of it.

The Strike as a Remedy (?)

At times the working-class are, in desperation, driven to revolt. These revolts or protests take the form of strikes. A strike means that although the working-class is in the best of times, but 30 days from starvation, yet nevertheless they are going to starve the capitalist-class into submission, as has often been said, they are going to "fight capital with capital," despite the fact that the working-class are penniless and propertyless. A strike, (frequently gotten up by request and through the connivance of the capitalist-class themselves) being so much as hinted at, the first effect is to put up the price of goods in stock, and the strike goes [illegible] transfered to Newport, Tuxedo, Yellowstone Park, or to the fashionable watering places and gambling resorts of Europe. And after the capitalists are sufficiently starved at these places, they come back home and divide up 50 or 100 millions of dividends.

Meanwhile the man on strike discovers that he is a little hungry himself. This makes him desperate. He protests, he parades, he pickets the plant, he does a good many things that are foolishness and a waste of time.

While all this is going on the capitalist, or generally his agent, goes in the capitalist courts, presided over by capitalist judges who are frequently stockholders in the same plants in dispute (and these judges are in all cases Republicans or Democrats, elected to office by the votes of the working class) and the judges, pliant tools of the Capitalist class, grant injunctions and writs of all kinds galore, simply for the asking.

These writs are placed in the hands of Republican and Democratic sheriffs elected by the votes of the workingmen. These sheriffs proceed to swear in a lot of thugs as deputies, men who can be relied on to provoke disorder

After a little time, the sheriffs discover they cannot control the situation, and he Governor is called on. The Governor is always a Republican or a Democrat elected by the votes of the workingman. The Militia is ordered out, orders are given to shoot to kill, "select either heart or head" and these inhuman and brutal orders are issued by a General, who is also the Lieutnant Governor of the State, elected to office by the votes of the workingmen.

Capitalists, Both Democratic and Republican, United Against Labor.

Workingmen, what difference does it make to you whether you are shot down under the Democratic administration of Pattison or the Republican administration of Stone?

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Under the Democratic administration of Cleveland at Chicago or the Republican administration of McKinley at Coeur d'Alene? These are the facts and conditions as they exist on the economic field, the field of wage-slavery. They also show the close and intimate relationship between economics and politics or the powers of Government, now the latter is always summoned to the support of the capitalist class upon the economic field.

In short it shows the close and inseparable connection between labor and politics and that the "labor problem" is a political question and cannot be kept out of politics, and yet your labor leader tells you that we must not bring politics into the trade union, it will break the union up! We reiterate "all great public questions naturally become political issues."

Fighting the capitalist class upon the economic field through the strike and the boycott is sometimes forced upon us as a necessary evil, to be avoided if possible, and while this is true, let us not forget that when we strike we undertake to fight the capitalist class upon that ground where they are the strongest and the working class is the weakest. The census reports for 1890 show that at that time the capitalist class constituted 8 per cent of the population, but they owned and controlled 81 per cent of the wealth. At the same time while the working class constituted 69 per cent of the population, yet they owned less than 4 per cent of the wealth of the nation.

These figures clearly show the enormous handicap upon labor when they undertake a strike.

Wages and Prosperity.

It is universally admitted that labor, and labor only, is the sole producer of all wealth. But despite this fact, the working class in return for their labor receive a very small and insignificant portion of the wealth they produce, which is returned to the worker as "wages." Wages are that part of the whole sum of wealth produced by labor which labor is permitted to receive back and consume for its support and to keep the working class in physical condition to be able to produce more wealth. In other words, all that the working class get in return for the wealth they produce, is no more than enough to keep them alive and enable them to reproduce their kind.

Why "Wages" Steadily Decrease.

A glance at the following figures taken from the census reports of 1890 shows that while the working class may be getting more money than formerly, yet the percentage of wealth created that returns to them is constantly decreasing, facts are practically as well as relatively worse and are constantly on the decline as the following figures proove:

	Total Wealth Produced.	Wage Earners Per Cent of Wealth Produced.	Per Cent of Wealth Produced as Profit.
1850	$ 8,000,000,000	62 1-2	37
1860	16,000,000,000	43 3-4	56
1870	30,000,000,000	32 2-3	67
1880	48,000,000,000	24	76
1890	60,000,000,000	17	83

As the figures for the entire country for the last census have not yet come within our reach, we can not give them, but it is certain that at present the working class does not receive above 15 per cent of the entire wealth produced, as will be seen by statistics taken from the census reports for the State fo Pennsylvania, in 1900 the gross value of the product is returned at $1,838,790,860. After making the necessary deduction for materials purchased in a partly manufactured form, we find a net value of new product of $1,104,871,630 this involved the employment of an average number of 733,834 wage earners who received in wages $332,072,670, by calculation in division these figures show that the workingmen of Pennsylvania employed in the various manufacturing establishments received in the form of wages 30 per cent of the wealth, factory price, that they had produced. But when you take this 30 per cent that you have received in the form of wages and attempt to purchase back, at retail price, the very product that you have produced, you will find that you will receive in return, only about 11 per cent. This conclusively proves our contention that the working class does not receive over 15 per cent of the wealth that they produce, while the capitalist class through its several branches pockets the other 85 per cent.

The same report shows that the greatest number employed at any one time during the year of 1900 was 928,522 while the average number given above was 733,834 by subtracting these figures you will observe that the average number out of employment was 194,688, despite the fact that the apologists of capitalism tell you that there is work for everybody that wants to work, the census figures do not bear out their statement. In the State of New York the census figures show an average army of the unemployed of 241,970, the same proportion holds good in every State of the Union.

Man is the slave of necessity, and he who controls the necessities has the power of a despot. The first and prime necessity is the opportunity to exercise his industry in some productive field where he can secure the means of existence. To close this field, to cut off this opportunity, is to sentence him to death. To restrict the exercise of his productive ability or limit the terms of his access to the opportunity by the will of another, is to make him the slave of another, hence our use of the term "wage-slavery," as describing our present economic relation to the capitalist, machinery-owing class. It is claimed by short-sighted, selfish, and mercenary men that if the opportunity is closed in one field there are others to which the individual may turn. This is too silly and childish an assertion to merit notice; but it is frequently made; inspection of figures quoted [illegible] where will [illegible] apologists of the capitalist system. Moreover, if it is possible for one field to be monopolized with a consequent displacement of labor, it is possible for all to be. To-day, with more than five hundred trusts in existence in the United States, controlling all the important means of production and distribution, dominating absolutely in every line of production, from transcontinental railroads to corncob pipes, the laborer displaced in one industry finds the field closed against him in all others. Capitalism, by monopolizing the field of production, becomes the dictator of the conditions which govern the life of every individual engaged in the field monopolized. By limiting the extent to which he may exercise his productive energy, limiting his wages, or the possible amount of his earnings, it dictates the quality and quantity of food the worker may provide for his family, the opportunity for education and improvement his children may have, and, by cutting off his opportunity labor, it denies him even the right to live.

During this campaign we will doubtless hear much about "prosperity." Prosperity is here for the Capitalist Class. They certainly have no cause to complain. Dividends and profits are beyond the wildest dreams of avarice but all the working class is getting out of it is hard, continuous, unrequiting, and killing toil, so much so that our Sunday, our much needed day of rest, is being slowly but surely stolen away from us.

As far as the captitalist is concerned, when it comes to a question of wages and prosperity it is "heads I win, tails you lose." During the present strike of the anthracite coal mines, the price of bituminous coal in Pittsburg has gone up 35 per cent, yet the bituminous miner is getting no fraction of this raise in price. In December last, the "Pittsburg Post," itself a capitalist newspaper, published in its editorial columns a statistical article that showed conclusively that such necessaries of life as could be purchased in 1898 for $72.00 then cost $101.00, an advance in the cost of living that has more than absorbed all the paltry little raises in money wages that we have received, and since December last the Beef trust, and all the other trusts, have been getting in their fine work. Prosperity for the working class only exists in the capitalist newspapers and the stump speeches of capitalist apologists.

LABOR AND POLITICS.

During the last century the working class has succeeded in conquering the right of suffrage, the right to vote, the right to exercise political power, and this is particularly true of the United States, where the ballot is in the hands of every law-abiding citizen. This is right, and as it should be, and is in accordance with modern progress and society's development, and yet this priceless right of suffrage has not been acquired without immense cost, struggle and sacrifice. For 600 years the best minds and finest intellects of the world struggled up through ignorance, superstition, cruelty and bloodshed towards free constitutional government. And so by degrees society has come to that stage of development that through political action its will is expressed. In other words, through the ballot, society expresses its will. This being the case, then all great public questions, become political questions and must in due process come before the great tribunal of public opinion to be settled by political action. This is the only legal and logical course to pursue.

In accordance with this established mode of proceedure, the labor question must inevitably force its way into politics, become a political issue, and finally be settled by political action. This is the true course to pursue. It cannot be avoided, and it is criminal to try to avoid it. The most suicidal thing that the working class can be guilty of is to attempt to separate labor and politics, and whenever the working class transfers the battle ground to the political field, then they find themselves upon that ground where they are far and away the strongest and the capitalist class is greatly the weakest, as the figures we have quoted above clearly show. Recognizing these facts, the Socialist Labor Party again comes before you, to point out the absolute necessity of political action exclusively on the part of the working class, organized into a political organization of their own. The fact is that when a strike of the workers against intolerable conditions assumes an aspect that threatens the interests of the capitalists, they immediately appeal to the political power of the State, for protection, which is never denied.

Labor Legislation.

It is a fact that all labor laws, such as the eight-hour law, the check-weighman law, laws against the pluck-me-store system, sanitary regulations, and safeguard laws to protect the workers on the railroads and in the mills, have invariably been either declared unconstitutional, or made inoperative, or even in some cases are made to operate in such a way that they prove detrimental to the interest of labor. All labor legislation is resisted and defeated by the interests of capitalism, which, intelligent and class-conscious has invariably taken care that whatever the pretended political issues may be, the dominant parties shall represent capitalist interests—this corroborates our contention, that all Legislation is "class-legislation," and that no laws can be enacted that will prove of any benefit to labor, unless such laws emanate directly from the working class themselves, organized into a class-conscious political organization. Not until the working class organize along these lines, as defined by the Socialist Labor Party, the only political party of the working class, not until they elect men of their own class who can consistently represent their class interests, will there be laws exacted in the interest of labor that will stand and will be effective in spite of all capitalist court decisions.

As long as the workers will permit themselves to be divided on the political field, one part of the working class voting the Democratic wing and another portion voting the Republican wing of the capitalist political tickets so long will the capitalists have laws passed detrimental to the interests of labor, and so long will the judges of the various courts issue court injunctions and declare labor laws unconstitutional; and when called upon by the capitalists, the Governors of States, be they Democrats or Republicans, will call out the State Militias to shoot down workers when on strike.

The Socialist Labor Party is a bona fide working class political organization. Its only aim and purpose is to emancipate the working class from the curse of wage-slavery and [illegible] reason of its position in this class struggle for existence, when placed in power, could not do otherwise but safe-guard the interest of our class, the only useful class in society, the working class.

Once more we appeal to the workingmen of Pennsylvania. Unite at the ballot box! VOTE THE TICKET OF YOUR CLASS. Get control of the law-making machinery of government. VOTE YOURSELVES INTO POWER; Vote the Socialist Labor Party ticket, whose candidates are all bona fide workingmen.

TICKET.

For Governor WILLIAM ADAMS WILMERDING

For Lieutenant Governor DONALD L. MUNRO ALTOONA

For Secretary of Internal Affairs FRANK FEEHAN FAYETTE CITY

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